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An Answer to the Anonymous
Remarks on a Letter from Warren
Hastings, Esq. to the Court of
Directors

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



AN
ANSWER
TO THE
ANONYMOUS REMARKS
ON A
LETTER
FROM
WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.
TO THE
COURT OF DIRECTORS.

L O N D O N:

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AT LOS ANGELES

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A N S W E R, &c.

A Letter dated so long ago as 21st February, 1784, from Mr. Hastings to the Court of Directors, now first exhibited to the world in form of a pamphlet, and made a vehicle for the introduction of illiberal reflections, and anonymous remarks, affords a strong presumption of the laboratory where the pitiful composition was fabricated. Internal evidence corroborates the suspicion. Much and accurate local knowledge joined with deliberate misrepresentation, and unsupported assertions delivered with a sarcastic flippancy of style, form a character so legible, that it is impossible to doubt the hand.—The judicious choice of *time* for this publication throws additional light on the conjecture: for, even the temper of

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the House of Commons may be affected by a momentary delusion ; and the sophistry of these *Remarks* may have worked its intended operation before Mr. Hastings or his friends can have had leisure to refute it.

The effect which this pamphlet may produce on the deliberations of the Court of Directors, though the offensive plea of the writer is certainly but a secondary (if any) consideration. The Directors have long been in possession of the original letter—Even the remarks are probably no novelty to them. The remarker will not be suspected of having been able to make so long a sacrifice of his vanity, although in favour of his malice, as to have hitherto suppressed the triumphant utterance of them from his own mouth whenever he could hope to lie undetected, or where he knew *such* lies would be applauded. He may quote Horace *sui juris* ; but the “ *nonum prematur in annum* ” is not compatible with the thousandth part of his self-conceit.

The attention of the public has been so long directed to the conduct of Mr. Hastings, that it is impossible the great outlines of his character should be now misunderstood. When, therefore, any picture is drawn, or any feature exhibited with respect to him, not conformable to these out-

lines, men are no longer to be blinded by insidious colouring, or misled by unressembling caricature.

Suspensions have been so often fomented, and so fully dispelled.—Prejudices have been so artfully raised, and so completely counteracted, that of all the tales industriously circulated to his disadvantage, not one has lived long enough to answer the purpose of the inventor.—Four lines quoted from the very letter in question, will abundantly satisfy all the *impartial* and *candid* part of my readers on the present topic. It is Mr. Hastings that speaks—and they are now in the habit of believing *him*.——

“ Improvident, (says he) for myself, zealous for the
 “ honour of my country, and the credit and interests of my
 “ employers, I seldom permitted my prospects of futurity
 “ to enter into the views of my private concerns.”——

Is it extraordinary, that a man who has done so much good, and resisted so much evil, who has for twelve years supported the powers of his government, and the very existence of the British nation in India, against all the enemies of his country, and the opposition of almost all his associates, should have had little time to think of his own concerns?—Is it wonderful that a man, who is confessedly
improvident,

improvident should not be rich? The very *articles* charged in the account annexed to his letter are themselves a full proof of the existence and extent of that improvidence.

For above twelve years together he suffers charges clearly of a *public* nature, to be carried to the account of his own *private expence*.—He suffers this, I say, *unconcerned*, when he might have seized a thousand opportunities of momentary influence in Council, during that period, to have passed every item of them at the *Board of Inspection*, which I defy the *Remarker* himself to assert, not to have been competent to the purpose.

The Examiner goes at large into the time and circumstances in which this letter was written. He scrutinizes each head of the account in all its points of view : he enters into the detail of Mr. Hastings's domestic œconomy in Bengal, with an intimacy not to be acquired at a distance, —and even descends to the laborious minuteness of verbal criticism. It is to be wished, that in his own arrangements there was more perspicuity, more connexion in his sentences, and more candour as well as more solidity in his observations. To remarks so tautologous and so diffuse, it is impossible to give a simple and compact answer.—When an article is confuted on the instant of its appearance, it starts up again at a distance, in another form ; and, when

one

one page of abuse is gone through, the next exhibits the same abuse in a different dress. His arguments are so versatile and unsubstantial that they elude the grasp, or vanish from the touch of vigorous examination; and the pitiful shadow, of a jest * must occasionally supply the place of sober reasoning.

Let us follow the plan (if, in so vague a performance, any plan can be discerned or suspected) of the Remarker.—At least, let us first consider (as he affects to do) the time and circumstances in which Mr. Hastings wrote his letter.—“He knew (says our *Philippic* page 12) that “the power which had hitherto supported him, had been “obliged to give away; and that a system from “which he had no protection to expect, was likely to prevail at home”—Alluding to Mr. Fox’s entrance into office. Will he then pretend to assert that either of the former administrations—those of Rockingham and Shelburne, were favourable to Mr Hastings? In the first, Mr. Fox himself bore a considerable sway, and the *grand accuser*, *l’Avocat même du diable*, was fastened to the very ear of authority: Lord Shelburne’s party, though less violent, was not more friendly. And if fear could make any impression on Mr. Hastings’s mind, it certainly was not a fear of the coalition administration.—But

“ private

* See “*moonshine*.” page 24.

“ private letters mention, that when he set out on his
 “ last expedition to Lucknow, his spirits were sunk into
 “ the lowest state of dejection.”—Be it so,—we grant
 the fact, and will consider whence it arises.

Let us now figure to ourselves the Governor-General, just departed from the Seat of Government on an affair of the first political consequence, with a constitution debilitated by long and laborious exertions under an inhospitable climate. He left the Presidency with a fever hanging on him. In some of the solitary hours of a tedious voyage against the current of a mighty river He turns his thoughts for the first time to a contemplation of his own private concerns.—He had no reason to *hope* that his return to Calcutta would be speedy, for the attainment of his object was necessarily accompanied with delay: that he could not *fear* a sudden return may be fairly inferred from his having ventured to embark on so delicate an expedition, burthened with such a weight of responsibility.—but he might perish in the course of it: and every man who can estimate the despondency inevitably incident to all disorders of the bile, and who can feel the sad anxiety of having made no preparations for mitigating to the survivor the dreadful dissolution of the tendereſt of all connexions, will be amply ſatisfied as to the cauſes of Mr. Haſtings’s uneaſineſs.

Domestic circumstances, in short, both authorize and account for his dejection of spirits. But were public motives only to be allowed on this occasion, they may be imagined both of number and weight sufficient to warrant any degree of dissatisfaction, without giving place among them to apprehension for the possible manœuvres of a “*moonshine*” Ministry.—Gross misrepresentation at home, and rancorous opposition abroad.—Parliament and the Public equally hood-winked and deceived—One administration after another bent to entangle, to perplex, and to mistake the affairs of India; or to turn the management of a mighty empire into a pitiful jobb—the anarchy which the very expectation of Mr. Fox’s bill produced in Bengal; the confusion and ruin which must have ensued on its introduction—these and a thousand other political concerns, remote *toto calo* from all personal dread, might allowably fill up the measure of his despondency.—And, if the glory of having contributed to the splendour of the British name, by the establishment of its influence and the well-ordering of its governments in India were ever dear to his ambition.—well might he bleed for the threatened execution of measures so pernicious and so destructive to both. “If his present letter,” therefore, “when written, had very much the air of

“a winding up, not only of his Government, but of his
 “life”—it is not necessarily indicative of “*a state of mind*
 “*enfeebled and perplexed by the consciousness of guilt.*” It be-
 longs only to men of the Remarker’s stamp to connect the
 ideas of *a last dying speech and confession* with the close of
 departing existence.—Mr. Hastings’s was the manly me-
 lancholy of a *Patriot*, perhaps in some degree of a *Husband*,
 but certainly not the cowardly timidity of a *Culprit*.

“Carrying, therefore, this view of his situation and
 “reflections into the examination of his letter, we may
 “fairly account for many things,” (*and for every thing*),
 “which he has left unexplained.”

On the 22d of May 1782 Mr Hastings had first drawn
 up a statement of various sums of money, applied by his
 means to public uses.—In a second and explanatory letter
 of the 16th of December of the same year, he writes “the
 “sources from which these reliefs to the public service
 “have come, would never have yielded them to the com-
 “pany publicly.”

The Court of Directors, in a letter to Bengal, dated
 March 16, 1784, thus write, para. 47. “Although it
 “is

“ is not our intention to *express any doubt of the integrity of*
 “ *our Governor-General*, on the contrary, after having
 “ received the presents, we cannot avoid *expressing our*
 “ *approbation of his conduct*, in bringing them to the credit
 “ of the Company ; yet, we must confess, the statement of
 “ those transactions appears to us in many parts so unin-
 “ telligible, that we feel ourselves under the necessity of
 “ calling on the Governor-General for an expla-
 “ nation, &c.”

Mr. Hastings arrived in England in June 1785, and early in July he answers fully and fairly this interrogatory, (though not called upon publicly so to do) by a letter to the Chairman, in which he meets the demand in every stage, and replies to it : and still further refers him “ for a
 “ more minute information, and for the means of making
 “ any investigation which they (the Directors) may think
 “ it proper to direct—to Mr. Larkins, *who was privy to*
 “ *every process of it, &c. &c.*” That is, he has at once put it out of his own power to gloss over or accommodate to any future emergency his account of presents received, by giving up the person in possession of the sums, dates, names, and every other document necessary to elucidate the particulars of these transactions.

Is this "*an artifice to deceive the multitude?*" is this "*an indication of a mind enfeebled and perplexed by the consciousness of guilt?*" Bengal, though in the uninterrupted enjoyment of wealth, peace, and abundance during the whole period of Mr. Hastings's Government, was at particular moments greatly in want of ready money for the instant necessities of a burthensome war. Mr. Hastings, by his influence as Governor, by his character as a man, or by his connections in consequence of near 30 years residence, was enabled from time to time to procure some unexpected assistance, some irregular act of benevolence, for the purpose of a sudden emergency. "The exigences of the Government (says he) were at that time my own, and every pressure upon it rested with its full weight upon my mind. Wherever I could find allowable means of relieving those wants, I eagerly seized them."—That is, through a secret and unsuspected channel he derived the funds for fitting out a military expedition, or answering a clamorous demand—to which the public treasury was for the moment unequal: and now we are to be told "it rests with Mr. Hastings or his friends to shew what possible motive, but a corrupt one, could engage any native to give him money privately."

From

From the *motive* which might weigh with a native in affixing the state through the hands of its ruler, the Remarker passes to Mr. Hastings's motive in accepting it.

“Receiving money *against law*, (says he) is not an in-
 “different action in a Governor. If he had no *wrong*
 “motive, what motive had he?—and what was the view
 “or expectation of the person who gave it?”—We will
 answer each of these points distinctly.

I. The Law, taken compendiously, states, that all money received by a company's servant is, *bonâ fide*, the property of the company—and may be sued for, &c. &c. Mr. Hastings receives money, and makes over the money so received to the company.—Therefore the law is observed.—Therefore it is not *against law*.

He acknowledges the amount, and gives up the nam^c
 of the person who kept his accounts—Can this with justice, with decency, with probability, be called “a confession which
 “specifies no particulars?” Much less is there any room
 for the dirty insinuation (page 22) that “in a trust of the
 “lowest order, such a conduct would be deemed sufficient
 “evidence of fraud.”

II. "If Mr. Hastings had no *wrong* motive, what motive had he?" —

—A *right* one. The *raison d'état* in a good sense. A principle of patriotism.—To relieve the exigencies of the state by every little aid which "*he could thus Procure*" from sources "*which would never have yielded them to the Company publicly*"—and why?—because there would have been a reasonable apprehension (as was really the case with Cheyt Sing) that a *public* contribution would have furnished a dangerous precedent to the Company for claiming a perpetual increase of revenue.—In a *private* aid this danger did not exist.

III. What then was the *motive* of the donor?

—The generosity of a friend, the subtlety of a courtier, the servility of an Asiatic—views of interest—hope of favour—dread of neglect—many or all of these combined (whether good or bad) might have had their weight. The question is not so much what the donor *might* expect, as what *did* the Governor grant. Was Mr. Hastings a *collector*, that "a Zemindar should give *him* one lack of rupees, to be excused two in his rent?" The instances of such prostituted and fraudulent patronage (if any existed), must have been sufficiently conspicuous. What Zemindar's
rent

rent could Mr. Hastings excuse or mitigate at pleasure?—The “*meanest*” of his colleagues had in that respect always an equal voice; and, if *He* knows of any such instance, why does he shrink from its discovery under the cowardly disguise of *general insinuation*? Sifting for private scandal from the disappointed resentments and unsatisfied expectations of the tenants of Government, is an employment better suited to *some* tempers and talents than a liberal enquiry into the advantages or celebrity of a Mahomedan academy. That Mr. Hastings made *some* use of his influence to procure money privately for the service of the state is allowed.—That he sacrificed the credit of his station or the interests of his employers, or the integrity of his principles, in any of these instances, is utterly denied—and let the insinuator prove;

Probatio sequitur affirmativum.

Of the money acknowledged by Mr. Hastings to have passed to the Company’s account through his hands, a part is afterwards appropriated to the liquidation of his own demands upon them.—The Remarker, by his hints, that the “claim might be subject to difficulties, if really left to the Court of Directors;” and in another place, that, “supposing these claims of his to be such as the Directors are at liberty to deny, if they think
“proper;”

“proper :”—and by other such pitiful subterfuges, would impress an idea which he dares not openly maintain, that these demands are disputable, are injurious, are unjust.—We shall presently have occasion to meet him on this ground :—and in the mean time will suppose the demands to be justified, that we may come to the *mode adopted for payment*. The account is *debited* under the head of “Duties and Charges ;”—which are (as the Remarker states) “an account of bounties and presents made by Government, and of secret services only known to the Governor.”——That is, in short, sundry charges incidental to the Government in the person of the Governor. The *credit* side of this account is an entry of various petty sums received on account of Government from persons making complimentary visits, &c. to the Governor.—“*Money received privately by Mr. Hastings*” could not be entered with propriety under any other head of account. For when some of the money so received was transmitted by * Mr. Hastings at once to the Treasury; he was obliged to enter it as *lent on bond, or placed in deposit*, to obviate the curiosity or misapprehensions of the clerks, and to accommodate it to the *official heads of entry in the Company’s Books*. Here then is a clue to all the mysteries discovered by the Remarker in Mr. Hastings’s letter on

* See his Letter to Mr. Devaynes, dated July 11, 1785.

this subject:—"a subject (he says) that demanded nothing but plain language, yet the expressions he (Mr. Hastings) makes use of are for the most part *affected* and *intricate*, and in some places *unintelligible*." The money which Mr. Hastings received privately on the public account, and expended in *secret* (or any) services for the public, is entered and passed in the account of *Durbar Charges*. The money which, when offered privately, he never received at all, but transferred at once to the Company's Treasury, is entered under some one of the only heads in the Treasury-books to which it could possibly be referred—"bonds," or "deposit money," "These bonds (says the Remarker) supposing it possible to invent a pretence for this course of proceeding - - - - - ought to have been cancelled long ago, *which it is not known that he has done*," The Remarker has read, for he has quoted a partial extract in his Appendix from, Mr. Hastings's letter to Mr. Devaynes, of the 11th of July, 1785, which contains the following paragraph.

"It being my wish to clear up every doubt upon this transaction, which either my own mind could suggest, or which may have been suggested by others, I beg leave to suppose another question, and to state the terms

“ of it in my reply ; by informing you that the *indorsement*
 “ *on the bonds was made* about the period of my leaving
 “ the Presidency, in the middle of the year 1781, *in order*
 “ *to guard against their becoming a claim on the Company, as*
 “ *part of my estate, in the event of my death, &c.*” Every
 man of honour will *here at least* discern the fallacy, and re-
 probate the malice of the Remarker’s argument—who has
 taken advantage of the omission of the formal word “*cancel*”,
 to insinuate that the Bonds are still in force—as if an In-
 dorsement on a Bond, for the express purpose of *annihila-*
ting the possibility of its becoming a claim, can, in the nature
 of things, be any thing else than a *cancelling* ! A Newgate
 Solicitor would spurn at such a subterfuge !

To the head of “ Durbar Charges” Mr. Hastings
 places his own demands on the Company : and under the
 same head he credits them for a sum of money adequate
 to the charge, which had come privately into his hands,—
 “ *from a source which would never have yielded it publicly.*”
 The Company therefore are not saddled with any addi-
 tional expence on account of Mr. Hastings’s Durbar
 charges, as the payment of them is not drawn from any
 part of the Company’s annual or ordinary revenue. To
 this *mode* also of payment the Remarker objects, and with
 his usual accuracy. See page 23. Is it not true that

Bengal has “ enjoyed the *sunshine* of peace and abundance” during Mr. Hastings’s government ;—why then cavil at the expression?—Why are we to “ *conclude that their affairs are in extreme distress*”, because out of many modes that might present themselves for the discharge of a debt, Mr. Hastings chose that which was in itself the simplest of all others, and which happened also to be “ *the most suitable to the Company’s affairs?*” It might well be the *most suitable*, because the current revenue was certainly appropriated to specific uses, and absorbed by previous destinations, from whence it could not be alienated. Are we necessarily to conclude that England is on the verge of ruin, because the Minister cannot alter the destination of only 50,000*l.* to a plan of fortifications, out of an annual appropriated revenue of 15 millions? The sum applied by Mr. Hastings to the account in question was unembarrassed by any previous engagement, and therefore indisputably most at liberty to answer a new or occasional demand. So much for the *mode of payment*—we come now to the *justness of the demand itself*.—It consists of sundry disbursements made by Mr. Hastings, and stated to be on the public account, comprised under five abstract heads. See the 10th page of the Pamphlet.

1. Salary to Colonel Ironside, a Military Secretary.

When Mr. Hastings first acceded to the government in 1772, among a thousand tasks of the most arduous political nature, a thorough reform in both the civil and military departments was not the least of his labours. The weight, therefore, as well as the *experience* of a *field-officer*, might be necessary to correct, to assist, and to execute his plans. But a field-officer might not be inclined, and could not be compelled to serve in a station usually allotted to inferior rank : or he might at least, with decency, stipulate for an allowance proportionate to his superiority. The comparison of the regular routine of the British staff will by no means hold with that of the novel and fluctuating institutions of the Bengal army of that period. Mr. Hastings, in his explanatory Letter of the 21st of February 1784, particularly states this temporary addition of salary to have been referred to the Court of Directors, and *no answer to have been obtained*. The silence of superiors in all such cases of reference must inevitably pass for *acquiescence*. This demand is therefore perfectly *just*. It is absurd to say, that “Colonel Ironside, as Military Secretary, had no claim to extraordinary pay from the Company, on account of his superior rank, *nor does it appear that he made any.*” He actually *received* extraordinary pay, and therefore the presumption is, that he *did* claim it. The reference to the Directors was made in “one of the
“ general

“ general Letters of the year 1773 or 1774 :” therefore it was made with the cognizance and concurrence of the Board at Calcutta : so that the Remarker’s observation in page 24 does not apply to this article.

2. Charges in the Governor-General’s office for twelve years.

I must here make two remarks upon the 10th page of the Pamphlet now before me. The first concerns the article No. 2, in which, by a mistake not noticed among the *scrupulous* errata at the end, 1774 is put for 1784. This has the effect of exhibiting the charges accumulated in above *eleven years*, as the wasteful extravagance of about *sixteen months*; and the probability of a typical error reserves a plausible retreat for the Remarker’s malice. My next remark is, that, in the note at the bottom of the same page, (in reference to this article) “ *pens, ink, paper, tape, &c.* are officiously promoted to the foremost place, while the weighty charges of salaries to clerks, are left to the last. This may naturally be imputed to a desire of exciting the Reader’s astonishment, by the contrast between the enormity of the sum and the relative cheapness of the goods.—Lord North’s *Treasury whipcord* is a fool to it.

Considering

Considering the multiplied functions of the Governor-General's duty, and the very unequal share of public business which always rested upon him, (for proof of which I appeal to the Bengal Consultations for any year) an allowance of 1100 rupees a month, the average amount of the sum here charged, for a separate office, is such as the most rigid parsimony could not wish to curtail. Mr. Hastings's *private affairs* occupied little or no part of this establishment: but a very considerable share was undoubtedly allotted to his *correspondence*; any part of which I much wonder the Remarker should denominate "*private*," when he so well knows how often Mr. Hastings has been required and obliged to give it up in detail to *public inspection*. The Minister at home expected and received from the Governor-General a regular and accurate display of political occurrences. The European Residents at all the Courts of the native Princes corresponded with him unremittedly. Copies of all these voluminous correspondencies were necessary for perpetual reference, and occasionally for authoritative inspection. The office therefore, wherein this business was managed, was actually and indispensably "*required to enable the Governor-General to execute the duties of his station*," and consequently its expence a fair, justifiable, and undeniable claim on the Company.

3. House-rent for the Governor-General's Aids de Camp.

The Remarker has softened somewhat of his acrimony in only styling this charge *unbecoming* and *irregular*. He was aware that every shadow of objection to the article might be done away in an instant; yet rather than say *nothing*, he was content to say *nothing to the purpose*.

The best houses in Calcutta will accommodate but very few inhabitants, and none of them are in any degree proportioned to the unavoidable size of a Governor-General's family. It is true that Mr. Hastings *enjoyed a house both in town and country rent-free*, and that he held *another house in Calcutta at the Company's expence*. What then?—When the Company complimented their Governor-General with a house, did they mean to allow him nothing but single room for his own particular habitation? Did they mean that his military and private Secretaries, his Aids de Camp and Staff should lie in the open air, or hire houses at their own expence? Did they mean that the Governor's Lady should have no private apartment to retire from the bustle, noise, and crowd of uninterrupted public business?—This indeed would have made the Governor sensible that their “*mark of respect*” was most exclusively

clusively "*personal to him.*" But, to be serious—it was certainly intended, that the house to be allowed to the Governor, should be such as could conveniently entertain all the necessary appendages of his family. Had there been in Calcutta any one house large enough for the purpose, Mr. Hastings *might*, and undoubtedly *would* have hired it at the Company's expence, whatever might have been the rent : and the only difference is, that he was obliged to have his residence under three roofs instead of one, to his own great inconvenience. It might as well be urged, that if the Governor-General had been shut up in Fort William on the event of a siege, he must not have ventured to appropriate to himself and his suite any greater portion of the barracks, than are allotted to the ordinary commander of the fort in time of peace. The number of those in employ near the Governor-General's person is, and *must* be, the only measure for the size of his dwelling, and his house—rent must be charged accordingly.

4. Diet and charges to Pundits—translating the Hindoo and Mahommedan Laws, and the expence of the Mahommedan Academy.

The

The very title of this account stamps and confirms the public nature of the charge.

For whom were these laws translated?—For the public. Who gave authority to those laws? The Company. Who obey them? The inhabitants of the Company's territories. Who dispense them? Judges chosen from among the learned natives. Where might *they* acquire their learning? At the Academy.—Here then there appears *much* that concerns the Company, and *nothing* that concerns Mr. Hastings.

The Mahommedan laws are the rule of right to all the Mahommedan inhabitants of Bengal. *Few* indeed compared to the Hindoos. But the Remarker is a better master of the subject than really to estimate them as only one in a hundred. Be that as it may, while the laws are *professed* there must be *professors*. The utility therefore of an academy, where those laws may be taught, or where, at least, a foundation may be laid for them, cannot be done away. In the polished and permanent establishments of European states, the private foundations of individuals may preclude the necessity of public interference. Such foundations have in former ages flourished in Indostan. For the pious absurdity of atoning for a life of incessant

D

crimes

crimes by the foundation of a college or an hospital has not been confined to one climate or one religion. Wealthy guilt has of late been less repentant ; and the sarcastic " Remarker allows with Mr. Hastings, " That the decayed remains [only] of these schools are now to be " seen in the principal cities of Indostan."

There is no longer in Bengal the former splendor of its native Mahomedan court, nor the bait of lucrative offices in the state to tempt men of ambition, on through the toils and expences of a liberal education. Were there not a seminary encouraged by public munificence, where learning might be acquired without much cost, and where the professors of science might find an asylum at least, if not a reward, in a few years the company's subjects in India would sink into the most deplorable state of savage and brutal ignorance.

In answer to the frivolous and flippant questions, blurted forth in the 28th page, it is sufficient to say, that proofs of the existence and utility of the institution can be sought only on the spot.—But, says the Remarker, "*Who, in short, ever heard of his academy before?*" I reply, *Thou art the man*—For else, to a total want of every language of India and a supercilious disdain of all conversation with the miserable

ferable natives, must be added an utter ignorance of what passed at the Council Board in Calcutta, when the propriety of this establishment was discussed—and that it was there both *discussed* and *admitted*, Mr. Hastings has asserted in the letter before us.—After all, the academy is for natives, not Europeans—and the credit of the design, and the glory of its success belong exclusively to Mr. Hastings.—*He* has a heart calculated for the enjoyment of such *moonshine* gratifications. It follows to speak of the expence—The article, “if proper (says the Remarker) “ought to have been provided for by the Board at Calcutta.” Does he not know, and is it not *in proof* that the Board in granting its consent *did ultimately provide for it*? “After a trial of about two years (See Mr. Hastings’s letter) “finding that it (the academy) was likely to answer the “end of its institution, I recommended to the Board, “and *obtained their consent*, to pass the subsequent expence “of the establishment to the account of the company, “and to erect a building for the purpose, at my own immediate cost, but for a company’s *interest-note* granted “me for the reimbursement of it.”—The institution therefore was solemnly, and authoritatively approved, and Mr Hastings was permitted to advance the money out of his own pocket, at the usual interest, for erecting the building.—What is there in this transaction to warrant

the Remarker's triumphant petulance? Mr. Hastings never sought the ostentation of *paying* for the establishment: he prided himself in commencing, supporting, and completing the design. He first liberally gave it a trial of two years at his own cost and charge. Had it *failed* we should have heard nothing of the demand, and Mr. Hastings must have quietly submitted to the loss. It is singularly hard that he should be upbraided for it, when it did *not* fail, and when the Board, on the mature experience of his previous trial, chose to encourage it. The Remarker then adds, "That he may have erected a building for an academy is not unlikely, because a building supposes a contract; and, *a contract makes the fortune of a contractor.*" See what it is to be a calculator. The whole expence of maintaining Pundits during a long compilation of Hindoo laws, of translating the laws of Mahomed, sundry monthly salaries paid to some of their most learned professors, and other incidental matters—together with the charge for erecting the academy, amounts but to 85,357 Rupees—of which it may be fairly assumed, that 50000 Rupees is the utmost cost of the edifice.—A contractor *make his fortune* and build a college out of five thousand pounds!!

5. A Charge for Budgerows and Boats,

After a few desultory pages, we arrive at the remarks on this fifth article. Mr. Hastings says, "His predecessors always had an establishment of this kind provided for them," And, as the Remarker has not contradicted the assertion, it must be true, — Are not boats subject to decay? And must not every establishment of this kind be occasionally renewed? — "But (it seems) these boats are superior in convenience and elegance to any that Mr. Hastings has yet seen." What then? If the mechanic arts be improved in the country, it is a proof, that population, industry and wealth have increased at the same time. — Is a convenient or elegant yacht incompatible with *simplicity of manners*? Perhaps the Remarker would have advised to buy up at auction one of the old city barges, and transport it to Bengal, in the room of a ship's long-boat, for the use of the Governor-General. — But the Proprietors of India Stock are to hear with indignation, that their servant's boats have been "*furnished with a cost which would not be credited by those who have not seen the subjects of it.*" And what is this cost? 59,165 rup. including above two years wages to numerous crews of boatmen. Let but the Proprietors turn back to the charges
of

of boats, even for General Smith's deputation to Lucknow, they will find them to have exceeded 3 lacks of rupees. "*The cost, therefore, which would not be credited*" means nothing more than that the Company have now, by Mr. Hastings's means, acquired an establishment of boats more convenient and more elegant than he had ever seen before, at, comparatively, a hundredth part of the usual expence—A prodigious loss, truly! and incurred too from a man "in whose integrity the legislature have placed a distinguished confidence, and who, standing high himself, is "looked up to as an example."

Boats are certainly "necessary to enable the Governor "to execute the duties of his station;" and therefore Mr. Hastings charged them to the Company.—The amount, estimated at two years only, is but 2,465 rupees a month—and the Company, at the end of this period, are put into possession of the best boats ever constructed in the country, and nearly as good as new. And yet Mr. Hastings has condescended to apologize for having omitted to lay their charge before the Board,

I am ashamed to have dwelt so long upon so clear a subject.

We come now to Mr. Hastings's private fortune. In page 37, the Remarker exults in exhibiting an amount of very nearly 34,000 pounds sterling, arranged under five heads only, of *little* articles gleaned from Mr. Hastings's past expences. In page 40, he allows Mr. Hastings's whole domestic expences to have been but 8,000 rupees a month. What is easier than to shew, that if these *little* articles of expence, gleaned out of past accounts, amount (as by an average they are found to do) to about 2,335 rupees a month, it is impossible that 8,000 rupees can be a sum large enough to entitle 2,335 rupees to the denomination of *little*. If, therefore, Mr. Hastings had expended but 8,000 rupees a month, for the support of his family, 2,335 rupees would never have suggested to his mind the idea of *little articles* gleaned from past expences.—Mr. Hastings was not gaudy nor ostentatious—But his establishment was magnificent, and his household extensive. It has been computed, that, one day with another, half a maund, or near 40 lb. of wax candles were consumed at his charge. This alone is an article of 1,200 rupees a month.

Mr. Hastings asserts, that his fortune is *small*.—The Remarker only proves, that it *might have been* large. His manners were simple, and his dress unaffected; and
there-

therefore, by the Remarker's system, he had no fire in his kitchen, and hardly a glass of wine to give to his guests. Does he not know, that Mr. Hastings expended, and ultimately lost great sums in building? Were the cost and maintenance of all his horses nothing? Did he never lend money, which he could not reasonably expect to recover? Or charitably give it away, without so much as the form of an obligation for its return? Was he exempt from losses, by remittances, or on respondentia, or in any or all the means, by which the Remarker would have exhorted him to augment his fortune at simple or compound interest? Mr. Hastings never thought of insinuating that *he kept no accounts of his expenditure*, in the act of acknowledging that he has improvidently dissipated, or lost his allowances; yet the Remarker would infer the contrary. "it is true, says he, (page 42) that he talks of his
 "inaccuracy, and would willingly be thought a man careless about money matters: *But we have evidence to the contrary before us.* He has kept an exact account of the
 "minutest articles of expence, and even of his charities." Is it incompatible with extravagance to keep accounts? But because Mr. Hastings *has kept accounts*, we have evidence (in the Remarker's language) that he has *not* been careless or inaccurate.—Had he no accountant—no clerk? Because his money went too fast, was it therefor

disbursed without a warrant ?—Timon's profusion was unlimited, yet the faithful steward had booked every item of his liberalities.

“ There is another way of estimating his (Mr. Hastings's) fortune,” says the Remarker, “ that is, if he were “ to be debited with the sums which he has been accused “ of receiving.—In March, 1775, he was charged by “ the unfortunate Raja Nuncomar, with the receipt of “ various sums paid to him by the Raja to the amount “ of Sonaut Rupees 3,54,105, or about 36,000l. The “ accuser not only specified all manner of particulars, but “ came forward, at every possible personal hazard, “ to make good his charge. If it was false, it was at “ once the most daring and absurd falsehood that ever “ was attempted. *Dolus in generalibus versatur. False-* “ hood never descends to particulars. The Raja, how- “ ever, was instantly hanged; and his charge, whether “ true or false, must be dismissed out of this account.”
(Page 43.)

False altogether—or where is it proved? were these particulars ever published, or were they known only to the Members of the Council at that time? He that runs may read the author's name here. *Monstratur digitis Prætereuntium.* If the particulars of these bribes

had been stated so accurately, Nuncomar's death was by no means a sufficient reason for their utter suppression. neither he nor any other man of his rank in India, ever paid money with his own hands. Did he pay the sums in *Cash* or *Bills*? In the one case he must have had a *Dewan* or *Sircar*, in the other a *Banker*. Either or all of these might at least have been brought forward to authenticate the reality of the payments, though they might not be able to specify the consideration.—

But to calumnies of such impudent and flagrant notoriety downright contradiction is the only answer.—It is *false* that Mr. Hastings ever received any money from Nuncomar. He detested him, and never admitted him to the smallest share of his confidence. It is false that the Raja specified *all manner of particulars*, or *any particulars*: for if he had, there wanted not inclination nor industry on the part of the majority at the Board to have prosecuted the investigation, even with the *threads* and *remnants* of a particular.—It is *false* to assert that "*falsehood never descends to particulars*:" for a casual or indifferent circumstance artfully thrown into a tale, is the most obvious of all contrivances to make it pass current; so Falstaff could discern *Kendal Green* upon three knaves, when it was so dark, that he could not see his own hand.

And

And this apothegm is most *ridiculously* as well as *falsely* applied to the charge exhibited by Nuncomar ; for it is not likely that a man who was hanged on the fullest conviction for *one* forgery, should be at all *delicate* in stringing together a number of plausible particulars to give credibility to *another*. It is *false* that “the Raja was *instantly* “hanged ” on preferring his false accusation : for he was regularly tried and sentenced according to law, and suffered to live much longer than usual after condemnation. It is *false*, that his “charge (whether true or false) must “be dismissed out of this account,” in consequence of the Raja’s instant execution : for, if he had left behind him a circumstantial account, with all manner of particulars, the dates of payment, the names of the persons to whom paid, and by whom, and on what account, and the several sums, would have afforded ample means for a complete and decisive discovery. This tale, therefore is *false in toto*, and *false in all its parts*, and I would stake my life that the Remarker himself does not believe one syllable of it.

If Nuncomar’s *name* were not, by a kind of indefinable but obvious sympathy, connected with *that* of our Remarker, *the assignment of the Maratta war to the account of Mr. Hastings*, (page 38) would effectually have betrayed

the anonymous libeller.—“There live not three good men
 “unhanged in England” who can affect to credit such
 an absurdity, “and one of them, God help the while,
 “grows old ;” and has scarcely travelled but in his closet.
 This assertion then is an after-birth to a still-born “Ad-
 “dress to the Proprietors of India Stock,”—dated from
 “Calcutta the 1st April, 1783”—but *fabricated* (like the
 present trash) within an hour’s walk of Grub-street.
 Their common author, aware of his own maxim, “*Dolus*
 “*in generalibus versatur*,” has sprinkled each of them with
 a variety of little local circumstances (as indeed he might
 well do from experience), to increase their plausibility—for
 “any artifice” as he unluckily blunders out in his 17th
 page, “may deceive the multitude.” He is welcome
 however to this part of his charge un-refuted—I leave
 him to make the most of it.

To the last but not the least of his fallacious insinuations
 page 45 “He (Mr. Hastings) may have appropriated large
 “sums to services not proper to be explained—He has
 “wasted his fortune to obtain protection, and his poverty
 “arises from his success in corrupting the integrity of
 “persons whose *trust* and *station* gave them *power* to support
 “him”—I answer that *no* salary, *no* emoluments would
 have been sufficient to purchase the variety of persons who

have come into *trust* and *station* here during the period of Mr. Hastings's Government: That he never was uniformly and vigorously supported by any one of the fleeting administrations, which have passed by him;—That of those administrations *one* was composed of the very men who then *did*, and who now *do*, stand forward with all the violence of inveterate enmity to accuse him: and if he had attempted to corrupt them, or any one of them, while their "*trust and station gave them power to support him*," they must be the greatest *knaves* in the universe, if, after having contributed to impoverish him by accepting his bribes, they now move heaven and earth to undermine his honour and his life: or the greatest *fools*, if, after having nobly rejected his dirty offers, they do not now in the true spirit of patriotism display the iniquitous transaction to the world in all its foul detail of particulars.

P. S. A word or two of the false English attributed to Mr. Hastings. The matter is indeed hardly worth notice; for a man's style may not be always equally pure: no imputation on the sanity of his intellects notwithstanding. But it shews the ingenuity of the Remarker in scrupulously making the most of all advantages. He has
however

however criticised but *three* passages ; and in *two* of them he is palpably wrong. They are

“ Interested note”

“ Prospects of futurity,”

And “ discharge vicissitudes.”

The first of these is a blunder made by the Remarker himself, or his copyist ; for in the original Letter, and in the copy printed for the House of Commons, the word is *interest-note*.—Technically, for a note bearing interest.—

The Remarker first fabricates the blunder, and then detects it. “ *Prospects of futurity*” is right ; and the Remarker’s observation (page 32) is false and absurd. Mr. Hastings does *not* “ call the latter part of his own life his Prospects “ of Futurity.” But says that “ his prospects of futurity were unconnected with the view of his private “ concerns.” A school-boy would have been flogged for so gross a misapplication. In the last phrase “ discharging “ the hard vicissitudes of his station”—there is certainly an inconsiderable, but a very accountable deviation from propriety of speech. Read the sentence as it stands in the Letter. Mr. Hastings had written “ to discharge the “ laborious duties ;” and then, in the hurry of writing, puts down the other member of his phrase “ hard vicissitudes ;” omitting, and perhaps even thinking that he

had

had inserted the verb "*meet*," or whatever other word might have occurred in the moment of composition. The sentence read with this insertion is perfectly pure—
 " threatens me with a corresponding decay in whatever
 " powers of mind I once possessed *to discharge the laborious*
 " *duties and (meet) the hard vicissitudes of my station.*"

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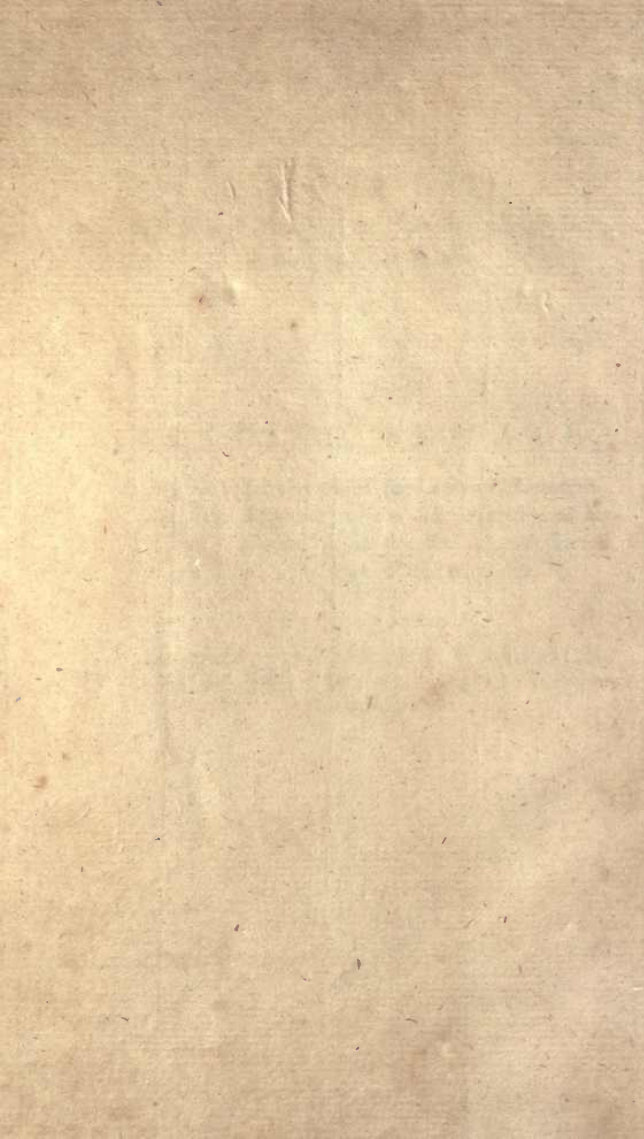
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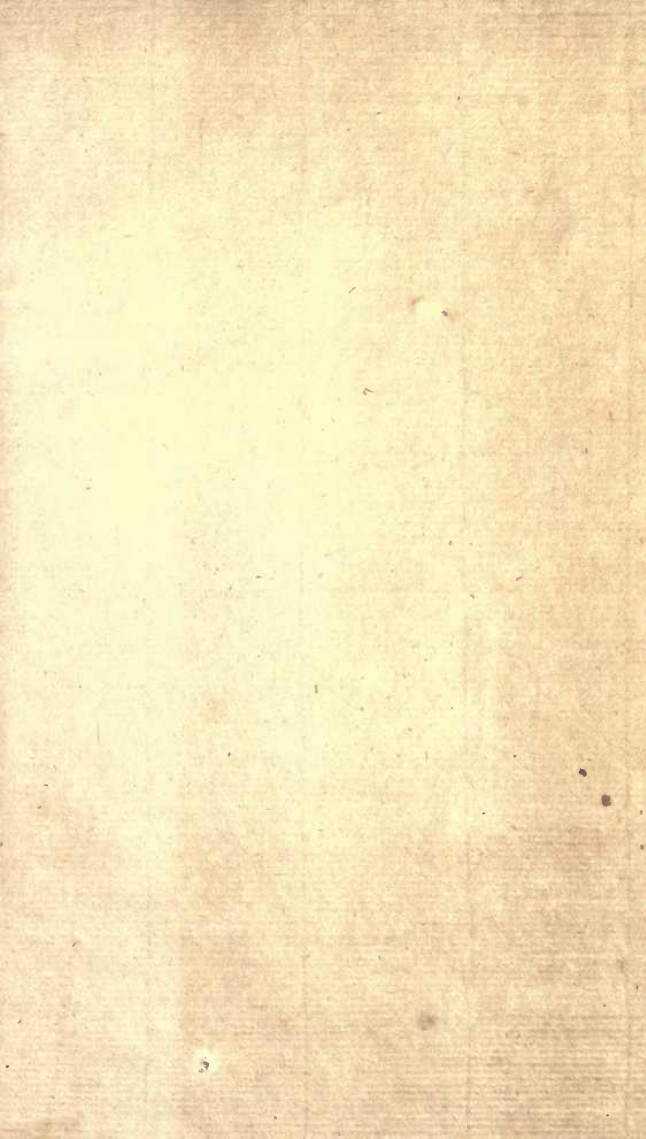
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